

# With Head, Heart, and Hands: Elbert Hubbard's Impact on B.J. Palmer

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Elbert Hubbard, the creator and developer of the Roycroft Arts and Crafts Community in East Aurora, New York, was a mentor to B.J. Palmer, the self-styled "developer" of chiropractic. This paper explores the relationship between Palmer, Hubbard, and chiropractic. The most visible sign of Hubbard's influence on B.J. Palmer was the creation of the Palmer Print Shop. Hubbard had instigated the Roycroft Press in 1895, and Palmer modeled his own print center, in a more modest way, after his mentor's. He also employed many of the marketing techniques to promote chiropractic that Hubbard used to promote the Roycroft books, furniture, and metal work. Palmer even styled his personal appearance after Hubbard's, complete with long hair pulled back with a band around the forehead, and a black flowing tie. When Hubbard went down with the *Lusitania*, B.J. purchased one of Hubbard's "tall-case" clocks, and proceeded to furnish much of the early Palmer School of Chiropractic (PSC) with the Roycroft pieces. Those pieces can still be viewed on the Palmer campus today. This paper will explore these themes in more depth.

## "Life Without Industry is Guilt: Industry Without Art Is Brutality." *Elbert Hubbard*

The above quote synthesizes the Roycroft community's dual themes of the inherent dignity of work and the necessity for art. Elbert Hubbard established the Roycroft community in the village of East Aurora, New York, in the last decade of the nineteenth century. Hubbard, born in 1856, joined with John Larkin to found the Larkin Soap Company in 1875. The company was a huge success, partly as a result of their marketing strategy of giving away premiums in return for their soap labels. Hubbard decided in 1892, at the age of thirty-six, to leave the business to become a writer. After a brief sojourn at Harvard University as an undergraduate, Hubbard visited England and met William Morris. He determined to go back to America and try to produce books in Morris's Kelmscott Press tradition, but with an American character. What began as a modest printing establishment in 1895 with the publication of the journals *The Philistine* and *The Fra*, soon evolved into a community of almost five hundred artists, craftsmen, and other workers who were drawn together by Hubbard's charisma and by a loose allegiance to the social and artistic ideals of the English reformers John Ruskin and William Morris. In addition to the printing shop, the Roycroft

community eventually produced handmade furniture (1898), leather goods (1905), pottery (1901), and metalwork. Between 1895 and 1938 the Roycroft community played a large role in the popularization of the arts and crafts movement to middle-class America.

## B.J. and Elbert's Friendship

How B.J. Palmer and Elbert Hubbard met is not documented. The author speculates that they may have met on the lecture circuit. Hubbard was one of the most sought after lecturers of the first decade of the twentieth



*Elbert Hubbard, lecturer, promoter, and founder of the Roycroft community of artisans, circa 1900.*



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A photograph of Elbert Hubbard and B.J. Palmer on the Palmer School campus, circa 1912. Note the long hair and flowing bow ties each man wore.

century, and B.J. Palmer was developing his own following late in that decade. Documents in the Palmer College special collections indicate that by 1910 they had met and were corresponding. According to B.J., in *The Bigness of the Fellow Within*, they not only corresponded, but visited each other, breaking their journeys to spend time with one another. Hubbard would visit Palmer at Palmer's residence at 808 Brady Street, Davenport, Iowa, and Palmer would stay at the Roycroft Inn in East Aurora, New York, and occasionally spend time at Hubbard's private cabin on the outskirts of East Aurora (1). B.J. tells this story of one of Hubbard's unexpected visits to 808 Brady Street:

When ever Hubbard was lecturing West he broke his journey to spend a day with B.J. He never knocked at the doors of his friends. He walked in unexpectedly and was always welcome. He traveled with his secretary, "Percy." . . . One morning he came in B.J.'s front door. He looked like he had ridden the bumpers all night. He was dirty, clothes unkempt, linen wrinkled, etc. B.J., at the time, was reading Hubbard's current issue of *The Fra* in which was a full-page advertisement and picture of Hubbard in an immaculate Royal tailored suit. Without hellos or greetings, B.J. looked up, saw the dilapidated Hubbard, and said, quoting the full-page ad: "Behold the Royal Tailored Man." Hubbard smiled and said, "That is an advertisement." Hubbard was followed by "Percy" lugging a big, heavy, Underwood typewriter. B.J. turned the pages of *The Fra* and again quoted another full page advertisement which said, "I wouldn't travel without my trusty Corona." Hubbard smiled and said,

"That is another advertisement. We are on to each other" (2).

As mentioned earlier, the two men did correspond. The Palmer College Special Collections contains a circa 1914 copy of a marketing flyer for Hubbard's publication *The Fra*. On the side of the flyer Hubbard wrote a hurried note: "Dear Dr. Palmer. Here is where I need help. Elbert Hubbard" (3). In a draft of a letter to Hubbard from B.J. on 6-09-1910 B.J. writes

Your letter came at a time when good cheer was what I most needed. I have plodded along here for years and I had reached a point were (sic) I felt I must say, "What's the use?"... The personal situation is briefly this (not that I want to bore you with personal troubles but more to give you an insight into what I have tried to accomplish). 10 years ago my father skipped and left me, a boy of 18, with over \$5,000 in debts, a bad name and a broken, ruined business. I assumed the proposition and have worked it to where it is. My business policy at that time was "That what was right WAS right and I would fight it along those lines until I won." With this idea in mind I ripped into anything where I saw any misrepresentations going on. . . I sailed into them. . . . No man can be truthful until he gets the dishonesty out of him. I worked year in and year out to get the crookedness out of my students. Finally, 6 weeks ago, 50 of the students of our school revolted because I was doing what I was. . . . As would be natural this was a damper upon my ambition for I believed that I was doing right. I still believe it and (in a more quiet way) am carrying on the good work with those that have remained as my standard bearers.

It was while I was thinking over the past actions of the people who need the growth the most and had a man who was giving it to them, that they turned down, that I was somewhat despondent. . . While this condition (Hell) was with me - your letter came. What else could I do but raise up from the ashes of the nothingless [sic] of the what [sic] and desire to go on and do more. So here is to you, Elbert Hubbard, a letter of appreciation, a word of thanks for the personal good you have done me by a cheering word at the right time and place (4).

This letter from B.J. Palmer to Hubbard is interesting for several reasons. First, B.J. tended not to talk about his problems. Those who had disappointed him were usually dealt with by not being mentioned again - this letter is a departure from his usual mode. Secondly, because B.J. tended not to talk about disappointments, this letter gives an insight into his perceptions of the events that led to the formation of Universal College of Chiropractic. Third, it does indicate some degree of a reciprocal relationship between Palmer and Hubbard.

In 1914 Elbert Hubbard visited B.J. Palmer and signed the Palmer residence guestbook: "I believe in B.J. P., I believe in Mrs. B.J. P., I believe in work, laughter, play, study, and love" (5).

The nature of their relationship appears to have been somewhat lopsided. B.J. Palmer was more influenced by his friendship with Hubbard than Hubbard was by his friendship with Palmer. Although Palmer alludes to his friendship with Hubbard, Elbert Hubbard makes little reference to Palmer, other than in his advertising pieces. The difference in their ages and the different stages each was in their careers at the times they met may explain the inequality of the relationship.

Whatever the depth of their friendship, B.J. was undoubtedly influenced by Hubbard's appearance. Both wore their hair long, sometimes pulled back and sporting a sweatband. Both men wore long, flowing, black bowties, as did many of Hubbard's and Palmer's most fer-

vent supporters.

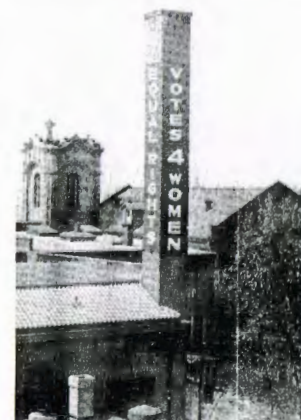
Another area in which the two men agreed was their political stance on women's right to vote. Both Hubbard and Palmer supported the women's cause, which was being hotly contested in the decade of 1910-1920. Hubbard emblazoned his position on women's suffrage on the silo of a Roycroft barn. B.J. proclaimed his stance to the citizens of Davenport by painting the same phrase on the PSC smokestack. Both read: "Votes for women" (6).

#### Elbert Hubbard, Master Advertiser

Hubbard used the marketing skills that he had honed in the Larkin Soap Company to expand the Roycroft enterprises. His periodicals, *The Philistine*, *The Fra*, and *Little Journeys* carried numerous advertisements for Roycroft products, as well as paid advertisements. Said Charles Frederick Higham in "The Advertiser's Weekly":

No man of any age understood so well the power of publicity and none could compare with him in the writing of advertisements. . . .

The first signed advertisement was Elbert Hubbard's, and no advertisements have paid advertisers better than the hundreds which have appeared under his name. . . . Most American firms of reputation have utilized his facile pen on their behalf; he was not only the greatest advertising writer of his time but also



Photographs advocating suffrage for women. During the second decade of the 20th century suffrage for women was a contentious issue. Both Palmer and Hubbard emblazoned their positions in prominent places - Palmer on the smokestack of the PSC; Hubbard on the silo of one of his barns.



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July 1915 THE FRA



## ADJUSTING CAUSES WITHOUT DRUGS—

### THE PRACTISE OF CHIROPRACTIC

Men and Women of Humane and Ambition, intent on bettering the Human Race as well as themselves, should investigate the Practice of Chiropractic, as taught and Practised by the Faculty and Graduate of The Palmer School of Chiropractic. Considered as a Profession with a future, there is perhaps none other that offers such a noble and remunerative and safe life.

The World, which for Centuries has been afflicted with pills, poisons, and poisons—has now a safe, sound, and open way to health. The maintenance of life and health is the "legitimate privilege" that all life made an inherent right. Opinion is rising against it.

## The Palmer School of Chiropractic

B. J. Palmer, Developer of Chiropractic, President, and his able Faculty are employed to teach students the Chiropractic Method of adjusting the cause of Disease. The Complete Course takes twelve months, and the diploma is awarded. Graduates are not taxed. A. This school each year is "packed with theory" and practice (as the Practice) is taught.

Four months of The Palmer School of Chiropractic is given over to Clinic Work. And at present the Clinic is open daily for more than one hundred Patients.

The charge for tuition, books, and material demonstration is most moderate. And you may only arrange living expenses.

Any man, any woman, seeking a Life-work, should investigate Chiropractic—also, The Palmer School of Chiropractic, the school which is called the "Fountainhead" by all Chiropractic Practitioners. Complete Literature Free on Request.

The Palmer School of Chiropractic, Davenport, Iowa  
"Chiropractic Fountainhead"

Palmer placed this ad promoting the PSC and chiropractic in Hubbard's journal *The Fra*.

the most highly paid (7).

Few would argue B.J.'s penchant for advertising. The epigram, "Early to bed, early to rise, work like hell, and advertise" was displayed prominently in the Palmer School's front hallway. B.J. was also the author of two best selling marketing manuals: 1) "Selling Yourself," a pamphlet which he wrote to help chiropractors market their services; and 2) *Radio Salesmanship*, a book that was produced in six editions and used widely in the radio industry and by those wishing to exploit the medium of radio. Palmer advertised his PSC in many journals, including Hubbard's. Additionally, he used his printing presses to produce the products of his imagination and sales craft, and marketed them to the entire chiropractic profession through his journals, *The Chiropractor* and *The Fountainhead News*.

#### Elbert Hubbard and Chiropractic

Regardless of B.J.'s and Elbert's friendship, Elbert Hubbard was a salesman and was not above selling to B.J.'s chiropractic competitors. In approximately 1912

### SOMETHING ABOUT CHIROPRACTIC

(Pronounced Ki-HO-FRA-TIN)

Elbert Hubbard says "Any man or woman seeking a life work should investigate Chiropractic as taught by the Palmer School of Chiropractic, Davenport, Iowa, which is called the 'Fountain Head' by all Master Chiropractic Practitioners."

You have a right to know where I learned my profession. It certainly gives me great pleasure to inform you that I learned this greatest of all sciences at the "Palmer School of Chiropractic," Davenport, Iowa.



**E. R. JONES, D. C.**  
CHIROPRACTOR.

Residence—  
Davenport, Iowa.  
Phone—  
262

**Mason, Iowa.**  
Davenport, Iowa.

**OFFICE HOURS**  
9:30 to 11:30 a. m. 1:30 to 4:30 and 7 to 8 p. m.  
Other hours and Sunday by appointment.  
Consultation and Analysis Free at Office.

No Medicine No Surgery No Osteopathy.  
Graduate of Palmer School of Chiropractic. Member of Universal Chiropractic Association.  
Davenport, Iowa.

Chiropractors quoted Hubbard's praise of chiropractic in their own ads.

Hubbard wrote a pamphlet for the National School of Chiropractic titled "The New Science or the Fine Art of Getting Well and Keeping So" (8). In it, he not only extols the virtues of chiropractic, he extols the virtues of the National School's version of chiropractic:

A good Chiropractor in his own life illustrates the beauty of the science that he represents.

Especially have I noticed that in the National School of Chiropractic in Chicago commonsense prevails.

Dogmatic medicine is no better than dogmatic theology. Both lead to tyranny and persecution. You must recognize the right of people to think and decide for themselves. At the best, no man is so wholly right that he can afford to say that anybody else is wholly wrong. . . .

What is needed now is toleration of the rights of other people to live their own lives, think their own thoughts, come to their own conclusions.

There is a constant danger for new converts to focus on one thing and imagine that when they get this, they have arrived. All the rest goes into the rag-bag.

The N.S.C. teachers, however, I have noticed, constantly instill into their students the necessity of a good equipment of plain, old-fashioned, commonsense.

You never hear National teachers berate the old schools, although they might smile at some of their prescriptions. . . .

We believe in old-fashioned work, kindness, good-cheer, helpfulness, and the "National Chiropractic Thrust," thus making the world a better place because we are here (9).

Chiropractors were quick to seize upon Hubbard's endorsement of their fledgling science. An advertising flyer by E.R. Jones of Eldora, Iowa, quotes Hubbard as saying "Any man or woman making a life work should investigate Chiropractic as taught by the Palmer School of Chiropractic, Davenport, Iowa, which is called the 'Fountain Head' by all Master Chiropractic Practitioners" (10). Jones no doubt was quoting from the ad which appeared in the 10 July 1910 issue of *The Fra* (11).

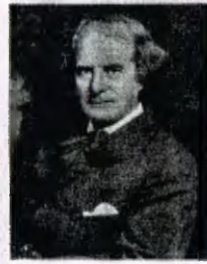
Lest the chiropractic profession gloat that Hubbard has been converted to chiropractic and advertised chiropractic exclusively of other health sciences, the following ad appeared in the July 1915 Memorial edition of *The Fra*.

Well or Sick - You Need - Autology. By Elbert Hubbard.

You can not have Health by paying another for it. You must EARN it. [Notice the similarity to B.J.'s style of capitalizing words for emphasis] Any man who looks to Doctors and Medicines to make him well and keep him well, will never know what is Health. . . . Health is the most natural thing in the world. Nature is on our side. Health is the Norm, and all Nature tends thitherward. If you seek Health you must get Medicines out of your Mind - and out of your body. All the wise and good Physician can do is put you in touch with Nature and with yourself. This Doctor Moras, a graduate of the Harvard Medical School, will do. He gives you the Foundations of Health in a wonderful book called *Autology*. With *Autology* to guide us, there need be no such thing as Disease. With *Autology* there isn't one person in ten that ever needs "Professional Service." He is his own Physician. Since the

THE FRA

DEVOTED TO THE BUSINESS OF THE LIVING



Published Monthly by Elbert Hubbard  
East Aurora, Erie County, N.Y.  
25 CENTS A COPY 2 DOLLARS A YEAR

The cover of the July 1915 issue of the *Fra*. The highly stylized roses and block letters are a common motif used in the arts and crafts movement.

advent of *Autology* the cause of Disease has been made clear - and the way to avoid it! (12)

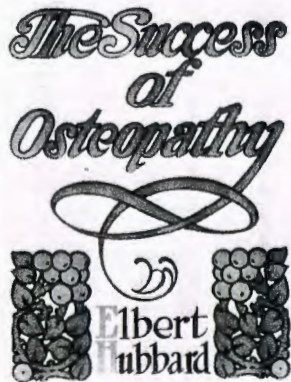
Hubbard also penned a salutation to the osteopathic profession in a Hartford City, Indiana, newspaper, *The Daily News*. In an article titled, "The Success of Osteopathy," he extols the virtues of osteopathy. "An Osteopath does not claim to cure disease. All he does is to give Nature a chance" (13). This phrasing is very similar to that used by many chiropractors in promoting their services.

Touches of Elbert Hubbard's advertising genius can still be found on the Palmer campus today. David Palmer's signature epigram, "Palmer is to Chiropractic what sterling is to silver," was foretold in a 1915 *The Fra* advertisement of Schmidding-Standard blankets: "Schmidding-Standard" is to Navajo Blankets what "Sterling" is to silver (14).

#### Prolific Wordsmiths

Both Hubbard and Palmer were gifted writers and speakers, and each produced voluminous amounts of printed material. Both had very loyal followers. The circulation of *The Fra* never dropped below 100,000 until after Hubbard's death. B.J. Palmer circulated his jour-





Although Hubbard was a supporter of chiropractic, he also approved of osteopathy. Hubbard would write testimonials that were printed by the Roycrofters and could be purchased in bulk by the appropriate practitioners.



The Roycrofters created line drawings to illustrate people. B.J. borrowed this technique and used it to illustrate himself and D.D. Palmer (shown), as well as Mabel Palmer (not shown).

nals to the whole PSC alumnae and was considered the profession's undisputed leader until the mid-1920's. Neither man was above exaggerating or bending the truth if it made better copy. One such instance of Hubbard's disregard for facts is documented in his *Little Journey to the Home of Austin Abbey*, where he poignantly described his encounter with the painter and his wife, surrounded by their loving children. Abbey wrote to Hubbard after the issue came out, explaining what a tragedy he and his wife regarded their not being able to have children, and expressing their distress at Hubbard's callous disregard for the truth (15). B.J. was also caught in an exaggeration by his nephew, William Heath Quigley. Quigley recounts the story wherein B.J. was expounding on an incident of beheading which he had observed and recorded in *'Round the World with B.J.* When the boy reminded his uncle in front of an audience that that was not the way he had told it earlier, B.J. sternly stared him down.

Nor was B.J. above borrowing a story that he thought appropriate for getting his point across. In a biography, *Elbert Hubbard of East Aurora*, Felix Shay (16) recounts a story where a prosperous individual drove out from

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Buffalo to see Hubbard. He wheeled up in front of the Roycroft Inn, and said, "Whoa" to his spanking pair of bays. Raking leaves in the road was a person in a battered hat, a flannel shirt and corduroys. "Here, John," said the prosperous one. "Hold my horses." And he passed the scruffy one a quarter. Going inside he asked the girl at the desk of the inn where he could find Mr. Hubbard. "Why," said the girl, "he was here just a minute ago." Then glancing through the open door she pointed, "Oh, there he is, out there holding those horses."

In *The Bigness of the Fellow Within* Palmer tells a similar story. In his story the shabby person is Palmer, not Hubbard, and the story takes place in Davenport, Iowa, not East Aurora, New York. Hubbard himself had several charges of plagiarism brought against him. In an early issue of *The Philistine*, Hubbard acknowledged that "certain of the truths herein set forth have been expressed before, but not well" (17).

#### Printing Similarities

Elbert Hubbard's enormously successful printing enterprise at the Roycroft Community influenced B.J., and may have been the motivating factor in his developing his own print shop, which he dubbed "The Prettiest Printing Plant in America." From approximately 1914 to 1961 B.J. proceeded to print in his print shop some of his green books, most of his pamphlets, and thousands of advertising pieces for chiropractic field doctors. The David D. Palmer Library Special Collections holds an impressive array of these advertising pieces. A graphic device that Hubbard used frequently in his journal was adopted by B.J. and used in the Palmer publications. Line drawings of B.J. and D.D. are reproduced after the style that Hubbard popularized.

#### Mottos and Epigrams

Before B.J. started printing his own material he purchased items from the Roycroft print shop. The Roycrofters produced epigrams that were printed for B.J. Palmer, who sold them in his early catalogs. Hubbard printed a booklet titled *A Thousand & One Epigrams* in 1911, and issues of *The Fra* are peppered with elegantly printed mottos. B.J. developed many mottos of his own. He also reworked Hubbard's epigrams, borrowed freely from James Elliott and A. St. Elmo Lewis, and proceeded to embellish the Palmer campus with the results. In 1921 Palmer published *As a Man Thinketh*, a booklet which documented the epigrams and their decorative effect on the Palmer campus. One of the epigrams most



In the booklet *As a Man Thinketh* B.J. Palmer reproduced many of the epigrams that were painted on the walls of the Palmer campus. The epigrams were borrowed from a variety of sources, including Elbert Hubbard, who frequently printed the pithy sayings in his journal *The Fra*.

pertinent to this paper was placed near the entrance to the PSC print shop: "Art is the expression of a man's joy in his work. You must let the man work with his head, heart and hand, and then out of the joy beauty will be born" (18).

#### Roycroft Treasures on the Palmer Campus

B.J. Palmer's admiration for Elbert Hubbard, for his pithy epigrams, his genius in marketing, and his championship of fine craftsmanship led him to purchase several pieces of Roycroft materials to decorate his growing campus. The Roycroft style of using high-quality pegs and mortise-and-tendon joint construction appealed to B.J., who was attracted to the simpler lines as a reaction to the busier lines of the Victorian era furniture and architecture. This stylistic preference is obvious as one studies the addition to the B.J. Palmer residence built in 1921. It is based on the Mission architectural style, one that was very sympathetic to the Roycroft Arts and Crafts style.



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Approximately forty Roycroft armchairs were ordered from the Roycroft community for the PSC campus. These armchairs, readily distinguishable by the Cross and Orb Roycroft motto engraved on each piece, are still in use on the Palmer campus today.

chased by B.J. shortly after the Hubbards went down on the Lusitania. B.J. paid Elbert Hubbard's son and the Roycroft artisans to add the word "chiropractic" to the face of the clock. Twelve letters are hammered into the copper face of the clock in addition to the standard one to twelve digits. In the same room is a split-log bench built by a Roycrofter named Ali Baba. In various hallways, other public spaces, and offices of the Palmer campus are thirty-nine Roycroft arm-chairs that have engraved on their backs the names of individuals or organizations that supported the Palmer School of Chiropractic. The Palmer mansion, B.J.'s personal residence, houses a bedroom set of Roycroft furniture, a copper Roycroft lamp, and a plaque done by the Roycroft community inscribed, "Be Thyself." Most of these pieces are easily identified either by the orb and cross insignia, or by the word "Roycroft" inscribed into the wood.

#### Hubbard's Death

Elbert Hubbard and his wife Alice were killed on 7 May 1915, when German torpedoes sank the Lusitania as it was making its way to Europe. B.J. Palmer inserted this notice in the June 1915 *The Chiropractor*.

German civilization is in retreat. The Lusitania lies at the bottom of the sea, and the soul of Elbert Hubbard went out with her sinking. In life, Fra Elbertus was a foremost lay exponent of Chiropractic ideals. What we here say is to his honor, for his friendship to our science, his belief in and advocacy of our principles, and for the worthiness of his character (19).

#### Conclusion

The influence Elbert Hubbard had on B.J. Palmer was proportionately larger than the amount of time the two men spent together. Impressed by Hubbard's printing presses, marketing techniques, and arts and crafts community, B.J. emulated the older man by dressing like him, starting his own printing company, marketing chiropractic and the PSC vigorously, and decorating his fledgling campus with Roycroft pieces. Marie Via, a scholar of the Roycroft community, says of Hubbard that his biographers are numerous, his detractors many, and his devotees legion. Via asserts that Hubbard is portrayed as

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1. B.J. Palmer, *The Bigness of the Fellow Within*, (Davenport, IA: Palmer School of Chiropractic, 1949).
2. B.J. Palmer, *The Bigness of the Fellow Within*, (Davenport, IA: Palmer School of Chiropractic, 1949) 228.
3. Flyer, circa 1914.. *Let Business Men Co-operate*.
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7. Charles Higham, "Hubbard the Advertising Man," *The Fra*, July 1915, 15(4):124.
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13. Elbert Hubbard, "The Success of Osteopathy," *The Daily News*, Hartford City, Indiana, June 14, 1912.
14. Advertisement, "Navajo Blankets, the Schmedding-Standard," *The Fra*, September 1915.
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16. Felix Shay, *Elbert Hubbard of East Aurora*. (New York: William H. Wise & Company, 1926) p. 69.
17. Freeman Champney, *Art & Glory; the Story of Elbert Hubbard* (New York: Crown Publishers, 1968) p. 203.
18. B.J. Palmer, *As a Man Thinketh* (Davenport, Iowa: Palmer School of Chiropractic 1931z) p.15.
19. "Elbert Hubbard, a Victim of 'The Water Wolves of Prussia,'" *The Chiropractor*, 1915: 78.

both a saint and a sinner, a savior and a charlatan. These words have also been used to describe B.J. Palmer and his influence upon the chiropractic profession. B.J. did, indeed, follow his mentor with his head, his heart, and his hands.

#### Acknowledgements

The author wishes to acknowledge the Palmer College Special Collection as the source for the illustrations for this article.

Palmer commissioned many pieces of furniture from the Roycroft furniture shop, including this 'tall case' clock, of which only four are known to be in existence today. This clock is on display today in the Special Collections reading room on the Palmer campus.

Sterling examples of the Roycroft hand-made furniture can still be seen today, located around the Palmer campus. In the David D. Palmer Health Sciences Library's Special Collections Reading Room stands one of four tall-case clocks still in existence designed by the Roycroft artists. The six foot nine inch clock was pur-